

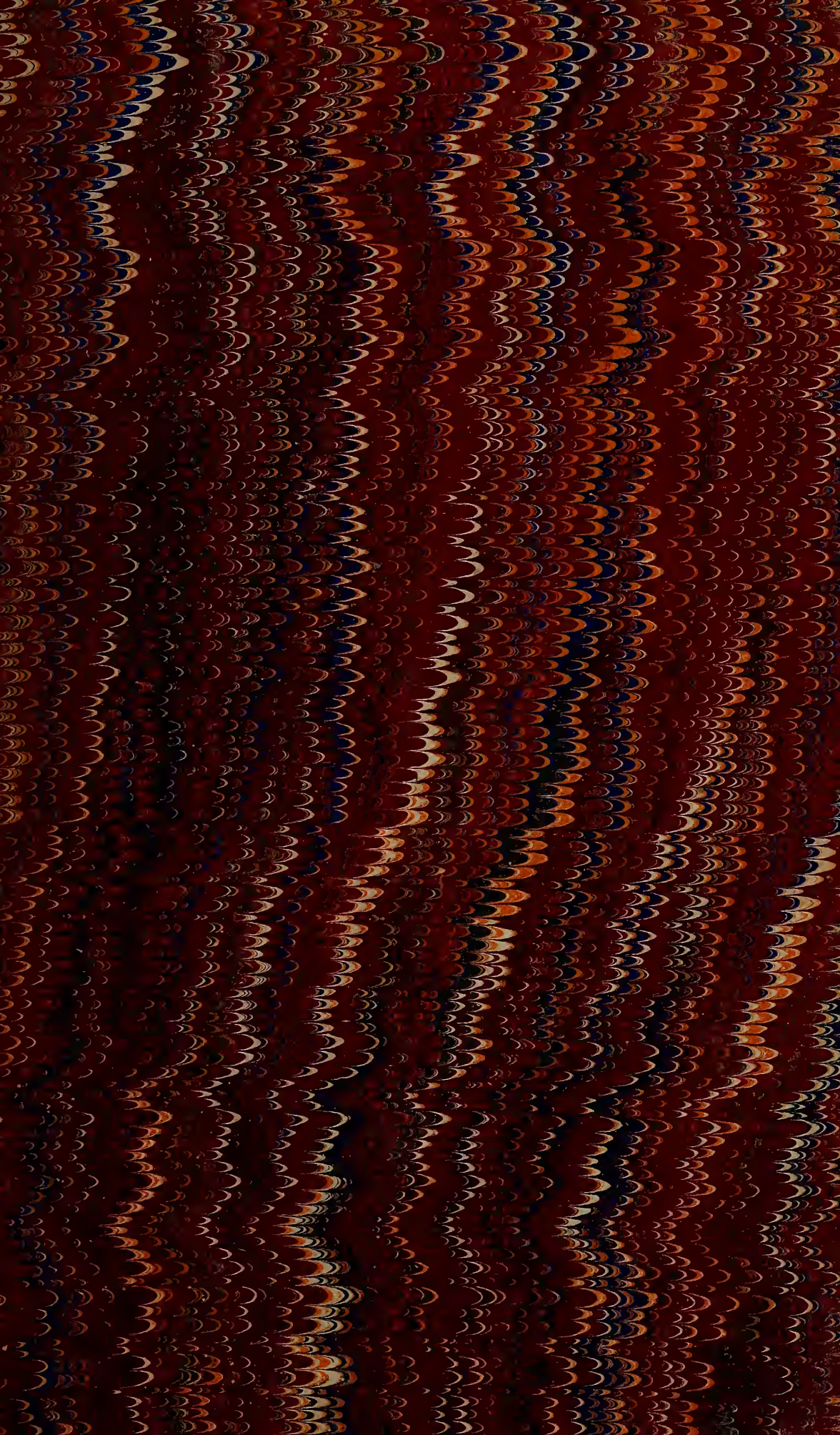
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

WHIG STATE CONVENTION,

HELD AT SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS,

September 10, 1851.

Whig party. Mass. Convention 1851

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Whig State Convention.

GLORIOUS GATHERING OF THE PEOPLE !

UNION—HARMONY—VICTORY.

The delegates to the Whig State Convention assembled at Hampden Hall, on the Main street, Springfield, on Wednesday, September 10, and were called to order at 25 minutes past 11 o'clock by HENRY VOSE, of Springfield. The Hall was filled to overflowing.

On motion of ANSEL PHELPS, of Springfield, the Convention was temporarily organized by the appointment of Hon. GEORGE MOREY, of Boston, as President, *pro tem.*, and EZRA LINCOLN, of Boston, as Secretary, *pro tem.*

On motion of CHARLES THURBER, of Worcester, the members of the State Central Committee, and the Chairmen of the several District and County Committees were invited to take seats, and participate in the doings of the Convention.

On motion of G. WASHINGTON WARREN, of Charlestown, the Hon. John Davis, the only Whig Senator from Massachusetts, and the Whig representatives in Congress from this State, were invited to take part in the doings of the Convention.

On motion of RICHARD L. PEASE, of Edgartown, Messrs. Richard L. Pease of Edgartown, Stephen Cabot of West Roxbury, William Barney of Nantucket, Henry P. Barnes of Pittsfield, Luther J. Washburn of Northampton, Joseph M. Dodge of Lowell, and Charles Allen of Greenfield, were constituted a Committee to collect the credentials of the members.

On motion of ALBERT H. NELSON, of Woburn, the following committee was appointed to report a plan of organization for, and a list of officers to preside over the deliberations of the Convention, viz.:—Messrs. Albert H. Nelson, of Woburn ; Edward H. Eldridge, of Boston ; Joseph Andrews, of Hamilton ; James Maguire, of Randolph ; Horatio N. Bigelow, of Clinton ; Samuel A. Dean, of Taunton ; Luther Stephenson, of Hingham ; Charles F. Swift, of Yarmouth ; William Hyde, of Ware ; Daniel Frost, of Orange ; John Holden, of Adams ; Francis M. Mitchell, of Nantucket ; Daniel Fisher, of Edgartown ; Jacob B. Merrick, of Palmer.

The Committee subsequently reported that the Convention be organized by the choice of a President, a Vice President from each Congressional district, and four Secretaries; and they reported the following list:—

FOR PRESIDENT.

HON. BENJAMIN F. THOMAS, of Worcester.

FOR VICE PRESIDENTS.

James Read, of District No.	1.
Joseph E. Sprague, “ “	2.
E. J. M. Hale, “ “	3.
Samuel Chandler, “ “	4.
John W. Lincoln, “ “	5.
Noah Welles, “ “	6.
Eli Bradley, “ “	7.
Eliab Whitman, “ “	8.
George M. Allen, “ “	9.
Abraham H. Howland, “ “	10.

FOR SECRETARIES.

John C. Pratt, of West Roxbury;
 Clark W. Byram, of Great Barrington;
 Joseph C. Pynchon, of Springfield;
 B. B. Caverly, of Lowell.

The report was unanimously accepted, and Mr. THOMAS, of Worcester, was conducted to the Chair by Messrs. Thomas Hopkinson and Ralph Sanger, of Dover.

The Throne of Grace was then addressed by Rev. GEORGE A. OVIATT, of Cabotville, as follows:—

Almighty and Most Merciful God! we implore thy blessing upon us on this interesting and important occasion. We thank thee that thou hast given thy Son to be the Savior of the world. We thank thee that thy mercies are over all the works of thy hands. We thank thee that thou hast blessed us with the enjoyment of religious and civil freedom. We thank thee that we are permitted to assemble on this occasion, under circumstances of so much mercy. We thank thee that we are citizens of this good Commonwealth. We thank thee that thou hast blessed us from the commencement until the present time. We thank thee for those glorious principles, political, civil and religious, which have been enjoyed by the citizens of this State. We thank thee, O, God! for the history of this Commonwealth; and that this State has acted an important part in the welfare of the nation. We thank thee for those men who were brought in thy Providence to these shores, to lay the foundation of the institutions which we now enjoy. We thank thee that thou hast raised up from time to time so many men who have been an honor to their fellow citizens, and an honor to this great country; whose names, whose memory, and whose deeds will be held in recollection so long as we shall exist. We thank thee, Our Heavenly Father, that we live in this great country of liberty, civil and

religious. We thank thee that when there has been conflict of opinion, thou hast yet sustained us, and that we have been held together, these growing States, and that to-day we are a united people. We thank thee that thou hast watched over us in all our struggles in our time of danger; and we trust in the God of Heaven, that we shall be preserved as a great and a glorious Union, to be honored by the world, and to exert a mighty influence for the dissemination of true principles of freedom, until the world shall be free.

We pray thee to smile upon the Chief Magistrate of these United States, justly honored so extensively among the people. We pray that his life and his health may be precious in thy sight; and that all who are associated with him may be just men, ruling in the fear of God. We pray thee to bless all those who have been elevated, in the different sections of the Union, to places of trust. May they be guided by that wisdom which will secure as the result, the highest welfare to this great and mighty people. We pray thee, our Father, that there may be a right appreciation of the great elements of civil freedom, in all sections of the country. We pray that the acerbity of party spirit may be moderated. We pray that the North and the South, the East and the West, may yet stand shoulder to shoulder, and be firm in upholding those great institutions which have been founded and sustained at such a sacrifice. We pray thee that all those evils which exist in the nation, in thine own time, and in connection with the highest welfare of the people, may be removed; and that none of our fellow citizens, North or South, East or West, with a spirit of fanaticism and madness, may be left to lay their hands ruthlessly upon the bonds which bind us together as a nation. Oh, we lift up our prayer on this occasion, and as we assemble from time to time, to the God of the "Father of his Country," whose name is precious, whose mighty deeds we hallow, and whose influence we feel; and we entreat thee to save us—oh, save us from the indulgence of those passions which shall lead to the dismemberment of this great nation.

We pray thee now to bless this Convention. We thank thee that those who have been chosen by their fellow-citizens from the different towns of the Commonwealth, have come here to-day under circumstances of so much mercy. The day is auspicious, and we meet in the enjoyment of health. We look abroad upon the face of nature, to animate us, and to lead us to put our trust in thee. Wilt thou smile upon thy servant, called to preside over the Convention. May he have wisdom; and wilt thou grant that under his direction, every thing may be done "decently and in order." May there be harmony of purpose. May there be harmony of action. We pray that the results of this Convention may be for the advancement of those principles connected with our civil welfare, which we regard as dear to our hearts. We pray that the people of this Commonwealth, while they enjoy their rights, may remember that they are responsible to thee for the power they may exert; and may they all act as in the fear of the Lord.

We now again implore thy blessing upon all the members present. May they enjoy health. May this be an interesting occasion. As they exchange salutations, may it be with a heart beating warm for the welfare of the nation. As they deliberate, and as they shall present

those names which may be held forth as representing the persons they desire to be elected to the principal offices in the Commonwealth, may there be a united feeling ; and wilt thou guide in all their counsels. Forgive us all our sins. Bless us in all our ways. May we be blessed in our persons ; be blessed in our families ; be blessed in our Commonwealth ; be blessed in our great nation ; be blessed in the dissemination of freedom ; and be permitted to share in those great and glorious victories for freedom, civil and religious, which are to be accomplished, through Jesus Christ, to whom be the honor, and the glory, forever. Amen !

The prayer having been concluded, the PRESIDENT of the Convention made the following address :—

GENTLEMEN—Delegates of the Whig party of Massachusetts :—I thank you for the honor of presiding over this Convention, met for the redemption of the Commonwealth. I bring to the chair no experience in the discharge of its duties. Your kindness and forbearance will supply that defect.

I *do* bring to you unfaltering attachment to the cause, and an earnest will to serve as well as to love it, — a readiness which I know is shared by every one of you, to forget all minor differences of opinion, all personal preferences, knowing that in harmony of counsel and unity of effort we shall find safety and power, power to make words things, to warm resolve into action, and to kindle action into victory, — to save the Commonwealth, while she is worth saving, before the hand of the spoiler has taken from her her beauty and her strength ; before her frame has been tortured and distorted by rash and empirical experiment ; and while she yet feels the glow and moving impulse of the Whig principles which are woven into the texture of her being, and which have been to her as the marrow of her bones, and the life of her blood. Gentlemen, it is ours to save the Commonwealth if we will, and we *will* : — let the recording angel write it now — we *will* ! — save her from reckless radicalism at home, and from infidelity to the Union, of which, to our loving eyes, she has been the bright and particular star. We cannot, indeed, wipe out the record of the immediate past. Massachusetts can never stand where she stood before this night of the Coalition ; but we can dispel its darkness by the clear and gladsome light of another Whig morning. For this we need to build no new platform. Let us, in this regard, learn wisdom from the failure of the friends who have left us. The imposing platform which they reared has proved but wood and stubble, and is now blazing on the hearthstones, and warming the air of the Democratic wigwams of New York and Massachusetts. Let us be content to tread the old pathway, to stand on the platform on which our fathers and ourselves have stood in serene joy, as the waves of successive factions have lashed themselves into fury, and broken at its base.

Loyalty to the Union, not the cold and formal assent of the understanding only, but the warm and embracing sympathies of the heart. Willingness to do, and, if need be, suffer in her cause, considering any temporary or local success, however brilliant, as purchased at too great a cost, if it be at the expense of the least fidelity to her. Loyalty to the

Constitution, as the august, and we trust, immortal bond of that Union. Readiness to perform the whole contract, without evasion or reservation, and in the spirit of compromise and mutual concession in which it was framed. Reverential obedience to law as the rule of action, not of thought, between which and anarchy there is and can be no middle ground. Strict regard for the rights of our sister States; a calm, but fearless, maintenance of our own. In our foreign relations, peace and a jealous vindication of our National honor; and, as essential to this, the preservation, at all hazards, and at every cost, of our National faith, and a scrupulous regard for the rights and for the territories of other Nations. The encouragement and protection of our own industry by specific and discriminating duties. The development of our great natural resources; and the protection and safety of commerce on our inland as well as our outward seas. A generous and manly support of the Administration which maintains, and, as far as in its power, carries out this wise and liberal policy.

Adhering to this platform, broad enough for at least twenty millions of freemen to stand upon, underlying the whole political horizon, excluding geography from politics, we may hope to triumph. On any more narrow sectional platform, success would be more terrible than defeat.

Gentlemen, in the last campaign, the Whig party bent before the storm, but it bent only as the oak bends before the passing wind, to rise up again in its majesty and in its strength. Out of the evil we may educe good; out of this "nettle danger," we may pluck the flower of safety. We needed the wholesome discipline of adversity, and if it shall serve to knit us yet more closely together, to rouse us to greater vigilance, to more vigorous effort, though like the toad, ugly and venomous, it will have a jewel in its head.

On motion of BENJAMIN SEAVER, of Boston, the following committee was appointed by the chair to collect, sort, and count the votes for a candidate for Governor — viz: Benjamin Seaver, of Boston; Alpheus Hardy, of Dorchester; Leonard M. Hills, of Amherst; James H. Mitchell, of Bridgewater; E. W. Cobb, of Nantucket; George Johnson, of Charlestown.

[During the collection of the ballots by the above committee, Geo. W. Richardson, of Worcester, inquired if it would be legal to cast a ballot not in an envelope — laughter.]

On motion of HARVEY JEWELL, Messrs. Harvey Jewell, of Boston; Oliver M. Whipple, of Lowell; Isaac Southgate, of Leicester; Leander Crosby, of Orleans; J. P. Sullivan, of Whately; Oscar Edwards, of Chesterfield, and M. T. Gardner, of Shirley, were appointed by the chair to receive, sort, and count the ballots for Lieutenant-Governor.

On motion of EZRA LINCOLN, it was voted that a Committee of one from each Congressional district be appointed to prepare an address and resolutions for the consideration of the Convention. The CHAIR appointed the following gentlemen, to constitute the Committee: — Ezra Lincoln, of District No. 1; Augustus Story, of No. 2; Isaac S. Morse, of No. 3; Charles R. Train, of No. 4; P. E. Aldrich, of No. 5; W. G. Bates, of No. 6; Isaac Seeley, of No. 7; B. F. Copeland, of No. 8; George A. Crocker, of No. 9; Oliver C. Swift, of No. 10.

On motion of CHARLES THEODORE RUSSELL, of Boston, it was voted that a committee of five be appointed by the Chair to collect, sort, and count the ballots for three delegates at large, to represent the Whig party of Massachusetts in the National Whig Convention. The following gentlemen were constituted the committee, viz : — Charles Theodore Russell, of Boston ; John Gardner, of Dedham ; Geo. W. Richardson, of Worcester ; Mathias Ellis, of Carver ; Wm. A. Crocker, of Taunton.

A. H. BULLOCH moved, on account of the delegates not being able to obtain entrance into the hall, that when the Convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet in Court square, in front of Rev. Dr. Osgood's Church : — Carried.

Mr. SEAVER, of Boston, from the Committee on the ballots cast for Governor, reported the following as the result of the balloting : —

Whole number	1033
Necessary for choice	517
Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, had	811
Samuel H. Walley, of Roxbury	207
John H. Clifford, of New Bedford	3
Franklin Dexter, of Beverly	2
Charles Hudson, of Lexington	1
Orin Fowler, of Fall River	1
Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Boston	1
George N. Briggs, of Pittsfield	1
John P. Bigelow, of Boston	1

Four ballots were cast for George Grennell of Greenfield, for Lieutenant-Governor, which were not counted by the committee.

The report was accepted, and the PRESIDENT declared that the Convention had made choice of Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, of Boston, to be the Whig candidate for Governor, at the ensuing State election.

TAPPAN WENTWORTH, of Lowell, moved that the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP be put forth as the unanimous choice of this Convention, as the Whig candidate for Governor.

The motion was carried with one unanimous shout of AYE, and the nomination was received with tremendous and long continued applause.

Mr. JEWELL, from the Committee appointed to collect and count the ballots for candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, reported the result as follows : —

Whole number	838
Necessary for a choice	420
George Grennell, of Greenfield, had	696
Myron Lawrence, of Belchertown	129
John W. Lincoln, of Worcester	4
W. B. Calhoun, of Springfield	3
Nathaniel B. Borden, of Fall River	2
Franklin Dexter, of Beverly	1
Seth Sprague, of Duxbury	1
Ensign H. Kellogg, of Pittsfield	1
Charles Grennell	1

Two ballots were cast for Robert C. Winthrop, and one for delegates to the Whig National Convention, which were not counted.

The report was accepted, and the PRESIDENT declared that the Con-

vention had made choice of Hon. GEORGE GRENNELL, of Greenfield, as the Whig candidate for Lieutenant-Governor.

On motion of JOHN DAVIS, of Worcester, the nomination of Mr. Grennell was declared unanimous, amidst hearty cheering.

Mr. RUSSELL, from the committee appointed to collect and count the ballots for three delegates to the Whig National Convention, reported as follows :—

Whole number	697
Necessary for a choice	349
Edward Everett, of Cambridge, had	687
George Ashmun, of Springfield	678
Seth Sprague, of Duxbury	679
Julius A. Rockwell, of Pittsfield	9
Wm. B. Calhoun, of Springfield	9
George N. Briggs, of Pittsfield	6
Myron Lawrence, of Belchertown	3

Joseph Grennell, Franklin Dexter, Charles G. Loring, Homer Bartlett, John W. Lincoln, John Reed, Justin Jones, Alfred T. Turner, Benj. F. Thomas, received one vote each — six votes cast for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were not counted.

Messrs. EVERETT, ASHMUN, and SPRAGUE, were declared elected.

On motion of Mr. RUSSELL, the delegation were authorized to fill any vacancy which may occur in their number from sickness or other cause.

On motion of Mr. PEASE, of Edgartown, the Convention adjourned to 2½ o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention assembled in front of Rev. Dr. Osgood's church, and was called to order by the President, at 3 P. M.

On motion of GEORGE MOREY, of Boston, it was voted that the President notify the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP and Hon. GEO. GRENNELL that they have been unanimously elected as the Whig candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor at the coming State Election.

EZRA LINCOLN, from the Committee appointed for that purpose, reported the following Address and Resolutions.

Address of the Whig State Convention to the People of Massachusetts.

FELLOW CITIZENS.—Your delegates assembled in convention at Springfield, to make the customary arrangements for the annual State elections, respectfully submit to you, in conformity with usage, the following exposition of the state of public affairs :—

It is scarcely necessary to say, that the political condition of the Commonwealth for the current year is such as has never before been witnessed. We cannot deny that it is in our opinion highly discreditable to the Commonwealth. It must certainly be so regarded by the Whigs of the State, and we believe it is so considered by all right thinking and patriotic citizens throughout the Union. In fact,

although individuals and parties within the State have been found willing to co-operate in the measures which have brought the Commonwealth into its present political condition, and although there is too much reason to fear that the same individuals, and the parties led by them, will endeavor, for selfish and corrupt purposes, to prolong it for another year, yet we are not aware that any individual has been found so destitute of moral sensibility, as to presume to justify on principle—as a thing in itself right and commendable—the bargain under which Massachusetts is now ruled;—a bargain between minorities, who profess to abhor each other's principles, but who, with open contempt of all principle, have entered into a public traffic for offices.

Before proceeding to comment more at length on this discreditable state of things, we deem it proper briefly to advert to the state of national affairs. It is felt throughout the country that a crisis of no ordinary difficulty exists. Whether we look to the debates and proceedings of Congress; to the popular elections throughout the country; to the tone of public opinion, as indicated throughout the Union by the press, and the discussions every where taking place, we cannot be insensible to the fact that the stability of our institutions is put to a severe test. It is probably left to this generation to ascertain, by a severe experiment, the soundness and vitality of those principles, which were embodied by our fathers in the Constitutions, as well of the several States, as of the Union. They have triumphantly withstood the trial of adversity, and are now undergoing the severer trial of prosperity. Our form of government, to which foreign nations, struggling for political liberty, have hitherto looked with mingled admiration and despair, was framed for a comparatively feeble confederacy, spread along the Atlantic coast, possessing a population not greatly exceeding three millions, and divided into thirteen States, bound together by the endearing ties of common efforts and sufferings, in the struggles for national existence. Seventy years have somewhat weakened the original strength of these kindly associations. Our population, by natural increase, and latterly by the rushing tide of immigration, has swelled from three to twenty-four millions; the States have multiplied from thirteen to thirty-one, and instead of a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast, now occupy vast spaces in the interior, and stretch from ocean to ocean. Nor can it be denied that in connection with these natural causes, tending more or less to subject our institutions of government to new trials, public opinion and public sentiment at the North and at the South, have, within two generations, undergone such changes as threaten, unless controlled by a stronger and deeper feeling of comprehensive patriotism, to destroy the cohesion of this mighty fabric of free republican government.

We forbear to enlarge on the various topics connected with national politics, and subordinate to these general ideas. We deem it in this respect sufficient to refer to the address of the Whig Convention, assembled at Worcester on the 1st of October of the last year, and to reiterate the sentiments therein expressed. At that period the National Administration, as constituted after the lamented decease of General Taylor, had but recently entered upon the discharge of its duties. We are now able to say, after the experience of nearly a twelvemonth, that

it has fully earned the confidence which we accorded to it in advance. The great interests of the country have been faithfully cared for. Never has the vast and complicated system of government, in which the Union is now comprehended, been carried on with greater vigor, intelligence, and singleness of purpose, to the extent of the powers, always limited, though highly important, with which the Executive is clothed under the Constitution and the Laws. In the commendation bestowed upon the National Administration, in the recent "notice for a Whig State Convention" in New York, we entirely concur, as we do also in the views and sentiments contained in that judicious paper on the subject of the difficult and embarrassing questions which have agitated the country during the past year. Referring, therefore, to this document, and to the address of the Massachusetts Whig Convention of last year, as embodying and expressing our feelings of respect towards the National Administration, and our views of national politics, we proceed to invite your attention more particularly to the existing state of things in this Commonwealth.

It is well known to you, that the Whigs of Massachusetts were in a large plurality at the last State election, estimating the numbers of the different parties by the votes cast at the polls. By this test the Whigs possessed a plurality of nearly twenty-one thousand votes over their regular opponents, the Democratic party, and of more than twenty-nine thousand votes over the Free Soil party, as it is called, with very little propriety of appellation. The Whigs accordingly, if as numerous in almost any other State of the Union as in Massachusetts, would have achieved a decisive victory. By that principle of political organization, which is adopted in most of our sister States,—namely, the principle that when no one party unites an absolute majority of all the votes, the public interests should be confided to the party making the nearest approach to such a majority,—by this principle, we repeat, the Whigs of Massachusetts would have come out of the elections of last year with triumphant success. In addition to this, it is to be considered that of the Free Soil party, one-half at least must be supposed to have been originally Whigs, and to concur with the mass of the Whig party in their views of general political questions. How persons of this description, and who claim to be peculiarly under the influence of *conscientious motives*, can justify to themselves a coalition with those who differ from them on general questions of politics,—who do not pretend to agree with them in the distinctive principles of Free Soilism,—and with no principle of action common to both, but that of participation in the public offices, to which they are able by mutual understanding to elect each other, is a question in casuistry, on which, among disinterested observers, there will not probably be great diversity of opinion.

It is well known that the organization of the Free Soil party, as a distinct political association, is quite recent. It goes back only to the summer of 1848. At that time a portion of the Whigs of Massachusetts, and of other non-slaveholding States, professed to be dissatisfied with the nomination, by the Whig Convention at Philadelphia, of General Taylor, who was a Southern slaveholder. There was no doubt a strong feeling on the part of many patriotic members of the Whig

party, that sound policy and very high considerations of political expediency, required the nomination of some candidate from the non-slaveholding States. But it was the division among the people of those States, which united with General Taylor's military popularity, in causing him to be selected; and nothing is more unjust and groundless than the suggestion that his nomination was forced upon the Middle and Northern States by the predominating power of the South. It need not be said that while the South has certainly claimed and received the Presidency for her distinguished citizens far more frequently than she ought to have done, on any ground of equal right, or fair proportion, yet the principle of the Free Soil seceders in 1848, that a Southern candidate as such ought to be repudiated, was of course a principle upon which the Union of the States could not stand a day. It is well known that Mr. John Quincy Adams declared that "General Taylor would do more to curb the spirit of conquest and check the spread of slavery, than any man the Whigs could elect," and the course of his administration was such as to justify this opinion.

While a portion of the Whigs, professing to be dissatisfied with the selection of a candidate from the Southern States, broke off from their party in 1848, it happened that a portion of the Democratic party in the State of New York were equally dissatisfied with the nomination of Gen. Cass by the Democratic Convention at Baltimore. The persons alluded to were under the influence of Mr. Van Buren, and formed what has been called, in the political slang of the day, the "barn-burner" section of the Democratic party. They were actuated by a wish to punish the friends of Gen. Cass for having defeated Mr. Van Buren's nomination in 1844. The immediate agency by which they were enabled to defeat him, was Mr. Van Buren's Texas letter, the object of which was, on the eve of the Presidential election of 1844, to conciliate the favor of "the Liberty party" in the Free States, without, however, giving just cause of offence at the South. Accordingly, not a word of opposition was made in this important letter to the annexation of Texas on any anti-slavery principle, but simply on the ground of danger of collision with Mexico; while the writer of the letter evidently calculated that the simple opposition to annexation, would satisfy the Liberty party, as it called itself, at the North, he depended upon his known and proverbial toleration of Southern institutions, to retain his supporters in that quarter. He experienced the fate of those who endeavor at the same time to sit upon two stools; and General Cass, though failing at that time himself to get the nomination, was considered, by his co-operation with Mr. Polk's friends, to have been the cause of Mr. Van Buren's defeat. This injury in 1844 was to be revenged in 1848, when General Cass was nominated at Baltimore; and hence the opposition of the Barn-burners of New York to that nomination.

With that disaffected portion of the Democratic party, the Whigs, disaffected at General Taylor's nomination, entered into a *coalition*, which assembled in convention at Buffalo and nominated Mr. Van Buren as President of the United States. His antecedent and recent political history was too well known, to allow this movement to be regarded in any other light than that of an intrigue.

There was no prominent statesman at the North, who had been so completely identified as Mr. Van Buren with Southern views. He had labored to procure the surrender to the Spanish authorities of the liberated slaves of the *Amistad*, and he had publicly declared that, even if an act of Congress should pass for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, he would negative it as President. He had in short been described by John Quincy Adams, with epigrammatic severity and point, as "a Northern man with Southern principles." Such was the first Presidential candidate of the Free Soil party. It is superfluous to add, that he did not receive a single electoral vote. It is hardly possible that his friends could have expected that he would receive one.

During the year 1849, the Free Soil party was kept in efficient organization by agitating the subject of the non-extension of slavery into California; and by the false pretence that the Whig party was lukewarm, and that General Taylor could not be trusted, on this point. By these unfounded suggestions, the Free Soil party was kept alive for purposes of local interest and personal ambition in Massachusetts, and in some other States, even after it had suited the interests and ambition of their late allies in New York "to deny that there had ever been any Free Soil party." At the close of the year 1849, to the surprise of the whole country, and the heart-felt joy of all who regard slavery as a measureless evil, the people of California assembled in Convention, adopted a constitution, by which they voluntarily excluded slavery forever from their borders. It might have been expected that this auspicious event, taken in connection with the prudent and conciliatory course of General Taylor's administration, would have shown that a separate Free Soil party, if ever expedient, was no longer required, by any thing in the state of the country; that the public sentiment of the people at large, of both political parties in the non-slaveholding States might be safely confided in, to do all that the Constitution permits to be done, to prevent the extension of slavery. But it soon became apparent that the leaders did not wish to be satisfied. They had conceived other projects. The removal of a real ground of anxiety was the signal for bringing forward others, which were factitious and imaginary, and the great end to be obtained was the formation of a new and powerful party.

This purpose was effectually subserved by the adoption by Congress in the summer of 1850, of what have been called the Compromise Measures, and especially by the Law for the Surrender of Fugitive Slaves. With respect to that law in particular, or the system of measures of which it formed a part, the Whigs of Massachusetts have no new grounds to take. With respect to the law for the surrender of fugitives, on which the chief dependence of the agitators is placed, to keep open the festering sore between the South and the North—the Whigs of Massachusetts stand upon the Constitution, and that alone, and the attempt to raise a prejudice against them on that ground is as uncandid in spirit as it is unwarranted by fact.

Do the Free Soil leaders deny that the Constitution of the United States requires the surrender of fugitives? No person denies that. The extreme Abolitionists admit the fact, and make it one of their chief grounds for warring against the Constitution and seeking a

dissolution of the Union. The Free Soil leaders profess to be friends to the Union, and admit the obligation to support the Constitution. Those of them, who hold office, are sworn to support it. In other words, they are sworn to support this clause of the Constitution, just as much as if it were specifically named in the oath.

And how do they propose to carry into effect this requisition of the Constitution? We call upon these Free Soil leaders to come out and give us their plan. They will answer, perhaps, by saying they would repeal, not only the law of 1850, but that of 1793, and would pass an extradition law, containing provision for a trial by jury. Such a law the Whigs of Massachusetts would greatly prefer. Some of them think no other law is constitutional, though the Courts have not sustained this view. But supposing it to be passed. What then? Must it not be executed? Must not the fugitive, if claimed, be arrested, and, when proved to be such, surrendered? What becomes, then, of all the fervid declamation, which we have heard against "surrendering as a slave any person, who has trod the soil of Massachusetts as a free-man." What becomes of all those solemn appeals to the original rights of humanity? Is nothing meant but the substitution of the verdict of a jury for the decision of a judge? A surrender in either form would be equally the accomplishing of what is so loudly protested against. Perhaps the ground will be taken that all laws upon the subject, passed by Congress, are unconstitutional, and that the extradition clause in the Constitution must be carried into effect by State laws. This is the ground taken by Mr. Rantoul, and which has earned for him an election to Congress by a union of Democratic and Free Soil votes. On this ground Mr. Rantoul is pledged to support the unconditional repeal of this law and all laws of Congress on the subject. But what then? The State of Massachusetts, and the other free States, on this theory, have got to pass an effective law for the surrender of fugitive slaves. Mr. Rantoul and his supporters, are as much pledged to promote the enactment of such a law as the repeal of the existing laws of Congress. On this theory the State of Massachusetts is bound, not only to acquiesce in the surrender of fugitives, — but to pass laws of her own, — to appoint or designate magistrates to carry them into effect, — to provide jails or other places of confinement, — in short, to adopt every other measure requisite for giving effect to this clause of the Constitution. And is it for proposing this doctrine, in opposition to all that the State has done since 1843, that Free Soilers in 1851 have bestowed their support on Mr. Rantoul? It is unnecessary to comment upon the manifest bad faith of an agitation thus conducted.

The last development of its nature is of more recent date, but the character of the Free Soil agitation was put beyond doubt, at the last annual elections in Massachusetts. It was sufficiently apparent that the object aimed at was the consolidation of a new political party, to be composed of disaffected Whigs and Democrats. The former class were to be secured and stimulated to activity by the Anti-Slavery agitation, the latter by pretended sympathy on the ground of State Reform. Of the sort of measures contemplated under this name, which one might suppose to be given in mockery or jest, had it not been assumed by the authors of the measures, we shall presently say a few words. It is sufficient to allude at present to the strange incon-

sistency of men, whose whole political life is identified with the support of Whig men and Whig measures, and who now profess to sympathize with the Democratic party on the subject of the necessity of State Reform. In order to give effect to Free Soil principles of two or three years standing, they join an opposing political party in attempting to pull down the institutions and overturn the policy they have supported all their lives. Not contented with the act, they covet even the name, and an attempt was early made by the leaders, which has met with but indifferent success, to give the name of "Free Democracy" to this monstrous combination. It is to be regretted, for the credit of our community, that so ready a concurrence was yielded to a plan like this by a majority of the Democratic party. It is however, but too true, that, at the annual elections last fall, coalition candidates for the House of Representatives were supported in many of the towns, and coalition tickets for the Senate were arranged in most of the districts, and in some of them elected. That the Democratic party had any sympathy with the professed objects of the Free Soilers was not pretended, and, in fact, is disclaimed and even regarded as a calumny. What the Free Soil party professed to think of the Democratic party is well known. It is well remembered that, on the eve of the Presidential election in 1848, a formal manifesto was published under the sanction of a leading Free Soil press, entitled "The Three Platforms." To this manifesto the widest possible circulation was given throughout the Commonwealth. It was scattered, like snow flakes, through the towns and villages. The three platforms were the Buffalo, the Baltimore, and the Philadelphia. The Baltimore (or Democratic) platform was represented in a far more objectionable light to Free Soilers than the Whig platform, and the principles of the Democratic party, in reference to the Slavery question, were held up, in this Free Soil document, to the reprobation and scorn of the people of Massachusetts; — and in reference to all other political questions, such as the river and harbor bill, the public lands, retrenchment of expenditure, reduction of unnecessary offices, cheap postage, election of postmasters by the people; "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men"; in respect to all these topics the Democratic party were represented, either as opposed to, or not sympathizing with the Free Soilers. Two years hardly had passed, the state of things, as to the character of parties, was in no degree changed, and the Free Soilers and Democrats were found acting together, on the ground that they were of one mind as to State Reform! Supposing the two parties to the bargain sincere, it amounted to this, that the Free Soilers were willing to help into office men, whom they had just denounced as the friends of Slavery, because they happened to agree with them in favor of enclosing votes in a sealed envelope; while Democrats joined Free Soilers, whose agitation they professed to regard as fraught with danger to the Union, because the Free Soilers were willing to join them in some item of new-fangled Democratic State Reform!

Fellow Citizens! these wretched pretences, under which the coalition was palliated, are more discreditable, if possible, than the bargain itself. The latter shocks the conscience of every man of principle; the former are a bitter insult to his common sense. The entire arrangement was purely and simply a bargain to divide the offices in

1851, each party hoping that, in the chapter of events, this partition itself might tend to the increase of party strength, and ultimately result in a monopoly of the loaves and fishes.

The coalition was, accordingly, in many places consummated; and in the result of the election, the Whigs, though constituting a large plurality of the People, were in a minority of the Senate, where numerous vacancies remained to be filled, and though greatly outnumbering either of the other parties in the House, still but constituting a plurality there. The vacancies in the Senate were so filled by the coalitionists in convention, as to establish their supremacy in that body; they already possessed a majority in the House, on every subject on which they could act together. They accordingly proceeded to divide the spoils.

And now, fellow citizens, commenced a scene never before enacted in this country. The two minority parties retained their separate organization, and held their separate caucuses. Beyond the vague and insincere pretence of sympathy on the subject of "State Reform," they had nothing in common; all wholesome legislation was suspended; business for the most part was laid aside; and when attempts were made to transact it, it was transacted in a very unsatisfactory manner. The great work of the session was the bargaining for offices among minority candidates; — Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State and Councillors, President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, United States Senators for the short or the long term, together with the State Senators to fill the vacancies, — these were the prizes, ranged, as it were, in a row, ticketed and valued at such a rate; such and such offices to one faction, considered as an equivalent to such and such offices to the other; — all deliberately bargained for in the different caucuses; — and then A voting for B, on condition that B voted for A; — all the candidates for all the offices being men, whose parties were in a lean minority at the polls! Thus a candidate was placed in the Governor's chair, who received but 36,492 out of 121,788 popular votes, and a United States Senator was elected by the concurrent vote of a House of Representatives, in which his partizans amounted to 112 out of 400 members!

Let it not be thought that we are uncharitable, in speaking of these transactions as an open bargain of sale. *We use the language of the parties themselves.* It so happened that a portion of the Democratic members of the House (between a fourth and fifth of the members of that party,) refused, as far as the Senator for the long term was concerned, to take part in this unblushing traffic. Great embarrassment and delay were produced by this cause; in fact, it was the great business of the session, for weeks and months, to overcome the obstacle thus presented to the consummation of the bargain. During all this time, the organ of the Free Soil party, after all attempts to gain over the dissentients by smooth words had failed, was filled from day to day with the most violent language of denunciation. The recusant Democrats were declared to be "swindling traders," who had made a bargain, received the goods, and refused to pay the consideration. It was asserted in the boldest manner, to have been agreed at the caucuses, that the Democrats "should have the office of Governor, on condition that the Free Soilers should have the Senator of the United

States for the long term." These statements were not merely made in anonymous newspaper paragraphs — they were signed by the names or the initials of the men who took a leading part in making the bargain, and received their share of the plunder.

The office of Senator of the United States was the article of guilty merchandize which attracted chief attention, in consequence of the difficulty just alluded to in consummating the bargain and sale, and effecting the transfer of the goods. We deem it unnecessary to comment at length upon this transaction, inasmuch as it has been fully discussed in an address to the people of Massachusetts, signed by the Whig members of the Senate and House of Representatives, and put forth at the close of the session. In that very able address the true nature of this transaction is fully unfolded, and it is plainly shown not merely to have been tainted with moral and political corruption, but to be clearly within the legal principles laid down by the Court, in a very remarkable instance reported in the volume of cases therein referred to. We will only add that this transaction was denounced in advance, as equally impolitic and dishonest, by some of the most respectable members of the Free Soil party.

It is unnecessary to comment at length on the demoralizing nature of these transactions. It has occasionally happened in political affairs, that parties or sections of parties, who have differed from each other, as to the general course of policy, have united and acted in concert to carry some particular measure, or to elect some candidate who, being the first choice of neither, has been the second choice of both. However pure the motives of those who enter into coalitions of this kind, it is well known that they are always looked upon with distrust, and seldom fail to be stamped with the public disapprobation. But an open and avowed bargain between parties, related to each other like the Free Soilers and the Democrats, — retaining each its distinctive opinions, — and agreeing on no one important political principle, — but drawn together simply by the powerful attraction of sharing the public offices, — this, it is believed, is a spectacle of which Massachusetts must hereafter possess the mournful singularity of setting the first example.

In the remarks we have thus made, touching the origin and early history of the Free Soil party, we are desirous of being understood to accord to it, and even to its original leaders, the full benefit of their ignorance of Gen. Taylor — his character and opinions, which they themselves assigned in justification of their course, and we do not doubt that great numbers of that party have at all times been honest and sincere; but with regard to the present Free Soil Coalition leaders, we should be unjust to our convictions, and fall short of our duty, if we failed to hold them up to the Commonwealth and the country as hypocrites, or selfish demagogues. We would also warn their followers against being further deluded by them into courses, entirely incompatible with their obligations as honest men, or true patriots.

We should prolong this address, fellow-citizens, beyond its just limits, should we attempt to follow, in its details, the ignominious arrangement aforesaid, entered into by these Free Soil leaders and their coalition Democratic allies. Otherwise we might paint to you the indecent neglect of public business at the first part of the session, and the not

less indecent haste with which it was hurried over at its close; the tampering with the most important interests of the people, in the vain attempt to give a show of reality to the delusive pretence of State reform; the bold design to organize a minority representation, and disfranchise a third part of the citizens of the Commonwealth; the pitiable humbug of ballot-envelopes, at war, as it is, with the spirit of the Constitution and the character of the people; and other projects of legislation, equally wild, monstrous, and before unheard of in Massachusetts.

Forbearing to dwell on these matters, we feel it our duty to call your very particular attention to the act passed, providing that a vote should be given, at the election in November, on the question of a Convention for the purpose of "revising or altering the Constitution of the Commonwealth."

It is believed that from the time when the Constitution of Massachusetts was framed, down to the present day, a period of more than seventy years, there has not been an instance of a measure like the one now pending, for the calling of a Convention to revise that instrument, except on one occasion, and that was on the separation of Maine, which created a clear and unquestioned political necessity for such a Convention, inasmuch as there existed no provision in the original Constitution for the adoption of amendments. This movement, it is pretended, has been made necessary by the defeat of the project, already alluded to, brought forward last winter in relation to the basis of representation in the Legislature. If a proper amendment, loudly called for by the people, had been proposed and tried for a series of years, and had been without reason repeatedly rejected, there would be some show of excuse for resorting to the troublesome and expensive expedient of calling a Convention. But there is not the slightest pretence that any such exigency exists, or is likely to exist. The amendment, proposed at the last session, is known to be regarded by the Coalitionists as a matter of secondary importance. They have designs of a more extensive and serious character. Revolutionary changes more decided, are contemplated. A general crusade against the conservative principles of the Constitution will be undertaken. The tenure by which all executive offices are now held, and the mode of appointment thereto, are to be changed; the independence of Courts of justice will be broken down; the stability of property shaken, and every thing, which has hitherto honorably distinguished Massachusetts among her sister States, laid in the dust. To attain these objects, the convenient and economical mode of effecting constitutional amendments, now provided by the instrument itself, is set aside; and resort is had to the expensive and inconvenient method of calling a Convention, simply because that measure, it is thought, can be more easily made the subject of popular agitation, and more readily brought within the range of coalition tactics. For this reason, without the slightest motive of necessity or convenience — without any indication of public sentiment on the part of the community; at a time when the great mass of the people are perfectly satisfied with the Constitution, under which, by the favor of Providence, they enjoy an amount of social and political prosperity, unsurpassed, if equalled, among the families of men, the insane proposal is made for a general overhauling —

“an alteration of the Constitution,” (they do not pretend to call it an amendment,) in the vain hope that when all the principles which have hitherto guided us are abandoned, and all the institutions that have sheltered us are broken down, the means may be found by the factions who have entered into partnership and taken the government of the Commonwealth on contract, to render permanent their dishonest bargain, by organizing a new party, on the basis of share and share alike in the public plunder.

But no, fellow citizens, this must not be. We entertain no apprehension of such a deplorable result. You will not allow this deep reproach to settle on our beloved Commonwealth. The land of school houses and churches must not be given over to this monstrous fraud and violence upon its institutions. We are confident that those among you, who, by any degree of inattention to your primary duties, have allowed the evils, under which we now suffer, to come upon us, will arouse from your slumbers, and that those who have heretofore exerted themselves, will put forth new energy; and that all classes of honest and patriotic men will rush to the rescue. You have never ceased to be a large plurality at the polls; you command unquestionably a large numerical majority of the citizens. You will, we are sure, feel the incumbent duty of making a decisive effort to restore the State. This great dishonor must be wiped off. The temple of our liberties must not stand profaned before the country and the world, as one great market house, where the highest trusts, the most respectable magistracies, are openly bought and sold. You will not, fellow citizens, another season submit to see candidates for office, who have been distanced at the polls, huckstering themselves and each other into those places of high trust, which you have been accustomed for seventy years, — you and your fathers before you, — to bestow on meritorious citizens, as a special mark of your favor. Let any party that comprehends a majority, rule the State. This is the principle of republican government. Or if there is none such, let any party that commands even a plurality, bear sway. The majority, the plurality may err; the presumption, however, is in their favor; but we adjure you, by the memory of an honored ancestry, to rescue the State from its present degradation, and not permit its government, the coming year, to be seized into the hands of trafficking minorities.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved — That the Whigs of Massachusetts unwaveringly hold to the patriotic sentiments expressed by them in the Legislature of 1833, and which they have ever firmly cherished, and now solemnly re-affirm as the cardinal principles of their political faith, in the words then used. That the Constitution of the United States of America is a solemn social compact, by which the people of the said States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity, formed themselves into one body politic, under a common government; — that this Constitution and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made under the authority of the same, are the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding; and that no citizen, State, or other member of the body politic, has a right, in any shape, or under any pretext, to annul or prevent the execution of the said Constitution, laws or treaties, or any of them, excepting in such extreme cases as justify

a violent resistance to the laws, on the principle of the natural and indefeasible prerogative of self-defence against intolerable oppression.

2. Resolved — That the Whigs of Massachusetts deem this a proper occasion to reiterate the sentiment they have at all times cherished, and have heretofore expressed, viz.: that the Union is the priceless legacy of Washington and his co-patriots, the foundation of all our prosperity and power; — the only means of securing all our National blessings, and averting National evils; the surest guaranty of the continuance of our liberties, our glory for the past, our strength in the present, and our hope in the future. Its preservation transcends in importance any and all other political questions, and as we have received it from the fathers, so we will perpetuate it to the children, to the latest generation.

3. Resolved — That the Whigs of Massachusetts will faithfully perform every duty imposed upon them by the Constitution of the United States, and they call upon their brethren, in every State in the Union, to respect and observe all its provisions.

4. Resolved — That the Whigs of Massachusetts cordially support the National Administration in all its just and patriotic measures; — in its generous sympathy with oppressed nations struggling for liberty in every part of the world; — in its able and vigorous management of our foreign affairs; — in its unwavering purpose to maintain inviolate our public faith with all nations; — and in its sworn resolve to vindicate the integrity of this Union against all assaults, from whatever quarter.

5. Resolved — That the name of DANIEL WEBSTER “is engraven alike upon the pillars of the Constitution, and the hearts of his countrymen,” and we take this occasion, in view of the prominent position he has occupied in the Administration, to express our undiminished confidence in his comprehensive ability and statesmanship, and to bear testimony to the wisdom of his counsels and the value of his services.

6. Resolved — That the members of this Convention have witnessed with unfeigned satisfaction the efforts which have recently been made by the Whigs of New York to bring about “an intelligent, honest, and cordial co-operation among themselves, and with the Whigs of other States of the Union.” That we rejoice that these efforts have been crowned with success, and have met the universal approbation of the Whig party throughout the country, and that we heartily concur in the sentiments which have been expressed by them as the result of their consultations, and as the basis of their future action.

7. Resolved — That we turn from the Administration of the Nation to that of our State with extreme mortification, where we are compelled to behold at the head of affairs, the candidates of a party comprising a small minority of the people, who have succeeded in obtaining power only by the most profligate bargain and corruption.

8. Resolved — That up to the commencement of the present political year, “the long established and well known policy of the Whigs had sustained in healthful action the general industry and varied interests of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding the manifold embarrassments created by the tariff of 1846; justice had been fully and ably administered; pure legislation had been fairly applied to all interests and classes; the execution of the laws had been impartial and just; nowhere had the equality of persons and the security of their rights been practically greater; the acquisition of wealth, of knowledge and power had been open to all; education in all its branches had been fully imparted to every class, and the functions of government had been nowhere fulfilled and sustained at less expense;” which satisfactory state of affairs was fully recognized by the present executive in his inaugural address.

9. Resolved — That up to the time when the coalition leaders in January last seized the reins of government in Massachusetts, our ancient Commonwealth had maintained its pristine character for purity and honesty in its political councils, and afforded a bright example to all the world, of institutions, free from corruption, bribery, or intrigue; — and that we have witnessed with the deepest humiliation the spectacle which has since been exhibited of *Free Soil* Senators and Representatives rewarded by the Executive for the votes by which he was elevated to the Chief Magistracy, and of *Democratic* Senators and Representatives appointed to offices of profit and trust, in consideration of their having aided in the election of a *Free Soil* United States Senator.

Resolved — That as the legitimate fruits of this unprincipled coalition, we have seen a protracted session of the Legislature, at an increased expense of over

\$50,000 beyond that of any of the previous ten years, resulting in a crude mass of imperfect and undigested acts and resolves, one of which contains the uncalled for and hazardous project of a Convention for overhauling our venerable and admirable Constitution, at an expenditure approaching, in all probability, a quarter of a million of dollars, and with the view of making it a more convenient instrument for accomplishing the designs and perpetuating the supremacy of Democratic and Free Soil coalition leaders.

Resolved — That Massachusetts owes it to its own character to rebuke such a prostitution of authority to the vilest purposes of bargain and corruption, by a prompt dismissal from office of all concerned in it.

10. Resolved — That the arrogant pretensions of the self-styled Democracy of Massachusetts, under its present organization, to be the true Union and National party,—when they have just aided in sending to the Senate of the United States an agitator and abolitionist, and while not a word of disapprobation or disavowal of that extraordinary act was uttered at their late Convention, are simply ridiculous, and should be received everywhere with the scorn they merit.

11. Resolved — That this Convention unanimously nominates the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, of Boston, as the Whig candidate for Governor, whose history has long been familiar to every true Whig in the State, and whose character is among our richest treasures; who has added fresh lustre to a name, already among the brightest in our annals, and whose talents, integrity and patriotism are well known to the people of Massachusetts, during a long and brilliant career in the Congress of the United States, as well as in the Legislature of his native State, and whose services in every station in which he has been placed, as Representative, as Speaker or as Senator, have been marked with signal eloquence, fidelity and ability, and whose private virtues and whose public principles will alike attract the regard and confidence of all good citizens, and whose administration of the chief executive magistracy will be proudly associated with that of the Puritan and Patriot Governors of other days.

12. Resolved — That this Convention unanimously nominates the Hon. GEORGE GRENNELL, of Greenfield, as the Whig candidate for Lieut. Governor, whose whole life has been marked with unsullied honor, probity and virtue, and who has rendered faithful and important services in the Legislature of the State and in the National Congress, and in every station he has at all times enjoyed the highest esteem and confidence of his fellow citizens throughout the Commonwealth.

13. Resolved — That deeply impressed with the views we have thus expressed, we will put forth our whole united strength to sustain the nominations of the Convention, and we call on all good citizens, as well as all true Whigs, to unite with us in redeeming our ancient and beloved Commonwealth from its present disgraceful and deplorable condition.

On motion, it was voted unanimously, that the Address and Resolutions be adopted.

Mr. PEASE, of Edgartown, from the committee on credentials, reported that nearly every town was represented, and that credentials have been received from 1200 members. Accepted.

On motion of ABRAHAM H. HOWLAND, of New Bedford, it was unanimously voted, that the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas, for the dignified, faithful and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of President of the Convention.

Mr. THOMAS replied to the vote of thanks, as follows:—

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I thank you for this expression of your confidence and regard. But the time for the deliberation of this Convention has passed. The time has now come for action. Vigorous and united action will alone be eloquent. I shall not therefore occupy your time, but close with presenting to you my grateful acknowledgements.

The Convention of delegates was dissolved at a quarter before 4 o'clock.

PLATFORM OF THE WHIGS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,

Agreed upon and adopted by the several Whig Committees at a Meeting held in Albany in July last, and referred to in the foregoing Address and Resolutions.

An Economical Administration of the Government :

The strict accountability of public officers, and their rigid adherence to the limitations of power prescribed by the Constitution and the Laws ; an honest and faithful performance of all obligations made with foreign nations, with a scrupulous regard for their rights, and a firm and steady defence of our own :

The Improvement of the important Rivers and Harbors of the country, so as to render them navigable and accessible, by prudent and systematic appropriations, founded upon examinations made by competent and disinterested public officers :

Such a discrimination in the Duties necessarily laid upon Imports for the support of Government, as shall secure to the Industry of our countrymen a just remuneration, and shall stimulate Mechanical and Manufacturing Enterprise, and thus provide a home consumption for the products of Agriculture, which may control and counteract the unsteady demands of foreign markets, and as such shall promote that healthy interchange among ourselves of the fruits of our own skill and labor, which is so well calculated to cement our Union, and maintain the spirit of national independence :

That the Whigs of the State, as a body, are inflexibly opposed to the subjection of any territory of the United States now free, to laws imposing involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime ; and they rejoice that no proposition to that effect is now pending, or is likely to be presented ; while, at the same time, they unqualifiedly acknowledge the right of every sovereign State to regulate its own municipal institutions, in such manner as its people may deem most conducive to their safety and happiness, without interference, directly or indirectly, by citizens of other States, or subjects of other countries :

That the Whigs of this State will abide by the Constitution of the United States, in all its parts, and that they will receive its true meaning and construction from the judicial tribunals it has created for that purpose ; and will always sustain and defend such decisions as the law of the land, until they are reversed by the same tribunals :

That the laws of Congress, and of the State Legislatures, pronounced constitutional by the judicial tribunals, must be enforced and implicitly obeyed ; and that while this is cheerfully recognized as the duty of all, as subjects of the laws, yet that the right of citizens, as voters, is equally undeniable to discuss, with a full and mutual regard for the rights and interests of all parts of the confederacy, (which is as necessary now to maintain, as it was indispensable to achieve the blessed Union of these States,) the expediency of such laws, and the propriety of any of their provisions, and to seek, by constitutional means, their repeal or modification :

That all who are animated by a sincere desire to preserve the Union unimpaired, and the free institutions which it sustains and guarantees, by which alone individual security and national peace and prosperity

can be perpetuated, must condemn all attempts to resist, defeat, or render ineffectual, any laws passed by constitutional majorities of legislative bodies, in either the Federal or State Governments; and that the Whigs of New York will ever be found prompt to render a patriotic acquiescence in all such laws:

That the National Administration is entitled to the confidence and support of the Whigs of New York, for the eminent ability and patriotism which have characterized its measures; for its successful management of our foreign affairs; the generous sympathy it has exhibited toward an oppressed people struggling for freedom; the force and dignity with which it has maintained the right to indulge such sympathy, and with which it has rebuked the threats of an imperious Government to violate the immunities of an accredited public agent, and the determination it has evinced to repress and defeat all movements tending to impair the public faith, and all unlawful enterprises calculated to disturb the public peace and provoke civil war, or to sever or weaken the relations of any State with the Union.

THE LETTER OF JUDGE THOMAS.

WORCESTER, Sept. 11th, 1851.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, BOSTON.

DEAR SIR:—The Whig Convention held yesterday at Springfield, instructed me, as its President, to inform you of your unanimous nomination by the Convention as the Whig Candidate for Governor of the Commonwealth, at the coming election.

The Convention could not have assigned to me a more grateful duty; for the unanimity, enthusiasm, and determination of purpose which marked all its proceedings, give the strongest assurance that the nomination will be ratified by the people of Massachusetts.

Very truly, your ob't servant,

BENJ. F. THOMAS.

THE REPLY OF MR. WINTHROP.

BOSTON, 17th Sept., 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your obliging communication, of the 11th inst., informing me of my unanimous nomination by the late Convention at Springfield, as the Whig Candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, reached me on my return to this city, a day or two since.

I am deeply sensible to such a manifestation of regard and confidence on the part of so numerous and distinguished a body of Delegates from every quarter of the State, and I embrace the earliest opportunity to offer to them all my most grateful acknowledgments for the honor they have conferred upon me.

Allow me to add, that I have derived peculiar gratification from the circumstances under which the nomination was made, and from the proceedings by which it was followed. I have read with the highest interest and satisfaction the Address and Resolutions which were adopted on the occasion, together with your own eloquent and patriotic remarks on taking the Chair of the Convention. Breathing a

spirit of forbearance and toleration as to the past, as well as of conciliation and concord as to the future, they seem animated at once by a just and enlightened regard for the interests and character of our own Commonwealth, and by a firm and unwavering devotion to the prosperity and welfare of the American Union. Their whole tone and tenor meet with my own hearty concurrence.

It cannot be doubted that, if the harmony, enthusiasm, and energy, which marked the proceedings of the Delegates at Springfield, shall be seasonably and generally diffused among those for whom they acted, the Whig Party of Massachusetts will exhibit itself, at the next election, not only united and triumphant at home, but ready and resolved to unite with their brethren from Maine to California, in sustaining and prolonging a sound Constitutional Administration of the Federal Government.

It only remains for me to say, that should such a result be accomplished, and the nomination of the Convention be ratified by the suffrages of the People, my best efforts shall not be wanting to discharge with fidelity and firmness whatever duties may thus be devolved on me, and to uphold the interests and honor of my native State in all its individual, and in all its National relations.

Believe me, my dear sir, with great respect and regard, your friend and ob't servant,

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

The Hon. BENJ. F. THOMAS, Worcester, Mass.

THE REPLY OF MR. GEO. GRENNELL.

GREENFIELD, Sept. 17th, 1851.

HON. BENJ. F. THOMAS,

Pres't of the late Whig Convention :

MY DEAR SIR : — I have had the honor to receive your favor of the 11th instant, informing me of my nomination, by the Whig Convention lately held at Springfield, as the Whig Candidate for Lieutenant-Governor at the ensuing election.

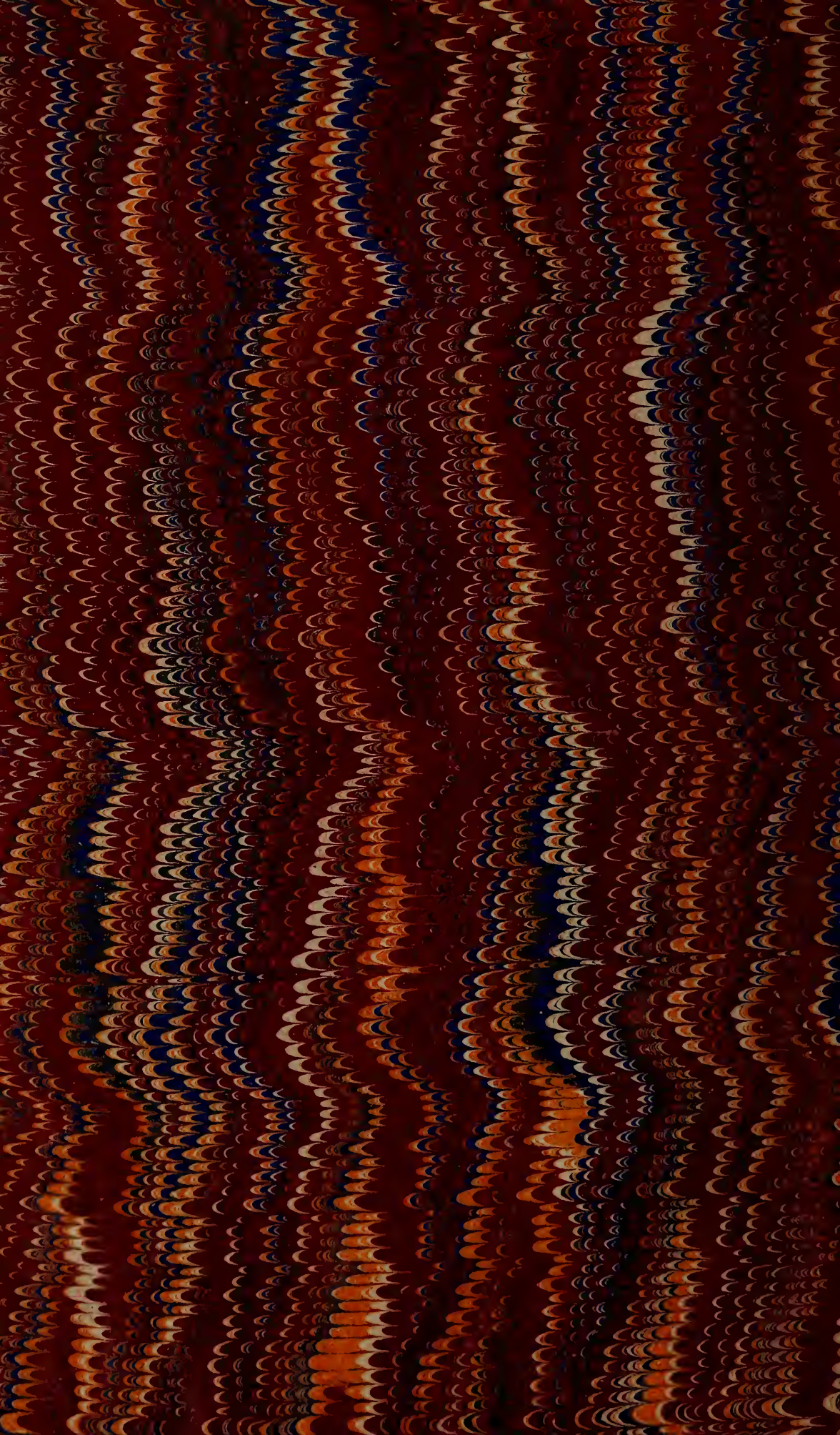
The confidence in me, thus expressed by that large and intelligent body of delegates, — speaking for the Whigs of Massachusetts, — demands my most grateful acknowledgement.

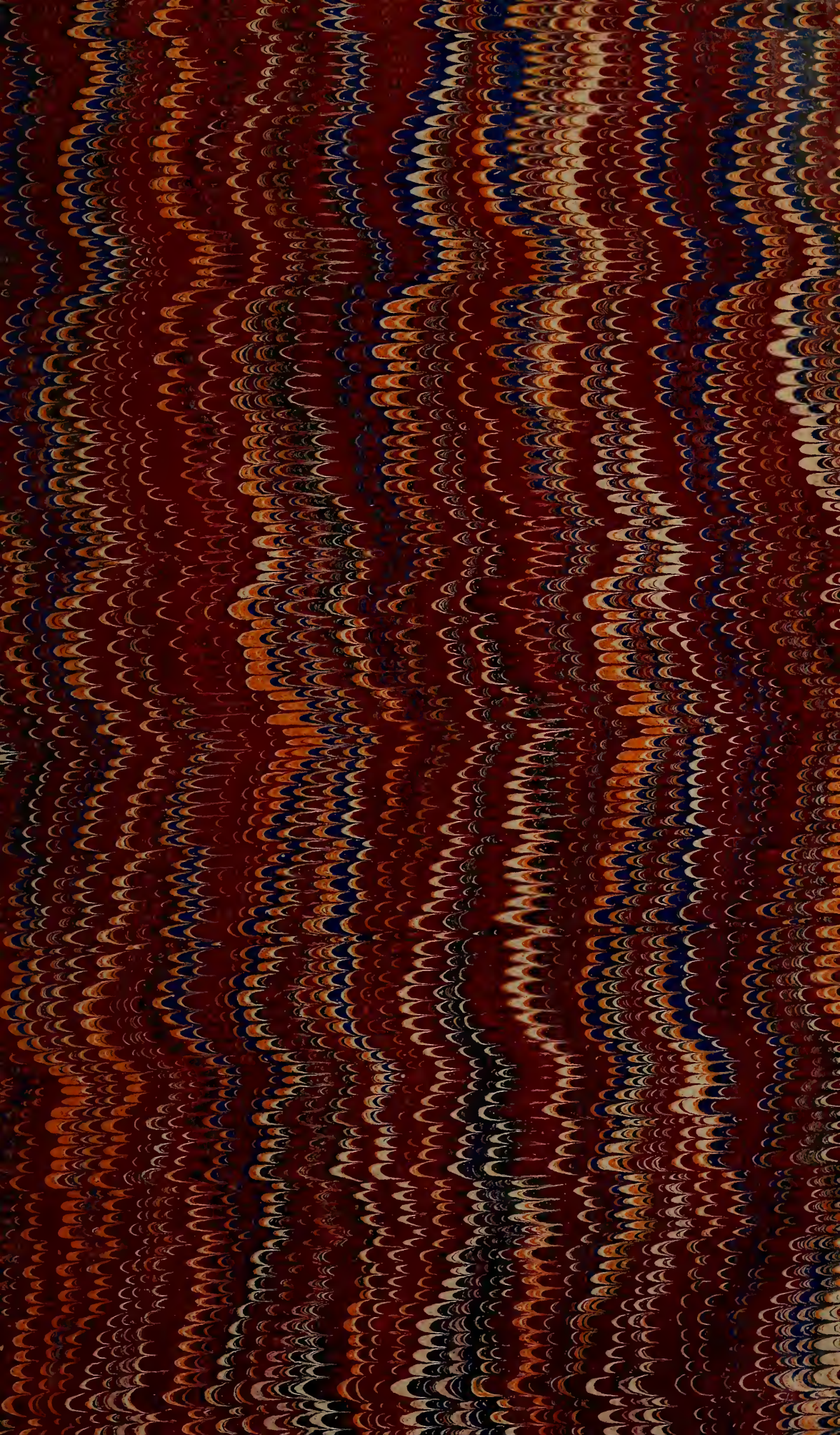
Whatever may be my own impression of the fitness or expediency of the selection, — whatever the apprehension of success or failure in the result, I obey the call of the Whig Convention, and accept the nomination.

To stand for office as the selected candidate of the Whigs of our Commonwealth, is to occupy an honorable position. To act with that party, and by its principles, as I receive them, is to stand, without wavering, for our Constitution and our Union, — to stand for freedom, too ; and to guard the rights and privileges of the whole people, and equally to dispense their benefits and burdens. These principles have, and have ever had, my cordial support. Let us hope they may ever prevail in our Commonwealth, and common country.

I am sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

GEO. GRENNELL.





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